

AN EXTENSION OF AVERSIVE RACISM THEORY:
ARE ASIAN STUDENTS JUDGED GUILTIER OF
ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT THAN THEIR
CAUCASIAN COUNTERPARTS?

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THAN THEIR CAUCASIAN COUNTERPARTS?

by

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Abstract

Dovidio and Gaertner's (2004) aversive racism theory was tested on a sample of students (96.5% Caucasian) at Memorial University of Newfoundland. A Pilot study (Study 1) revealed no aversive racism against Asian targets. In Study 2, first-year social science students (128 women, 63 men, 3 of gender unspecified) made judgments about the guilt of a Caucasian, an Asian, or an 'International student' target featured in one of three scenarios prejudged as Low, Moderate, or High in level of academic dishonesty. Participants judged the Asian target as guiltier of academic dishonesty than the Caucasian target in the Moderate and High-guilt scenario conditions. The significant differences found here are, however, to be interpreted cautiously. Given that nine planned comparisons were performed on the data, the possibility of Type I error is greatly increased. There is no conclusive evidence that aversive racism was found in the sample of students surveyed in this research.

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Defining Aversive Racism

Dovidio and Gaertner (1991) have suggested even the most well-intentioned people are susceptible to prejudice. They have proposed that up to 80% of Americans engage in a subtle form of discrimination called aversive racism. In the words of Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner (2000, p. 137) aversive racism is "... a subtle, often unintentional form of bias that is characteristic of many White Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are nonprejudiced." In other words, aversive racists are unconsciously prejudiced while consciously believing themselves to be nonprejudiced (Hing, Chung-Yan, Grunfeld, Robichaud, & Zanna, 2005). Aversive racists are Caucasian, well-educated, liberals who would experience great offence at even the slightest suggestion that they may be racist. Dovidio and Gaertner have constructed their aversive racism theory based on research of the implicit (nonconscious) attitudes of Caucasians against Blacks in the United States. This is not to suggest that overt racism has ceased to exist. A minority of the Caucasian population yet openly expresses racist attitudes but, the majority engage in a subtle form of racism detectable only by more indirect measures. The present research was undertaken to extend the validity and generalizability of aversive racism theory by subtly tapping into implicitly negative attitudes that may be held by explicitly non-prejudiced Caucasian university students toward a minority Asian student population with whom minimal social/historical conflict has been observed.

The following characteristics, say Dovidio and Gaertner (1998), typify the aversive racist: First, aversive racists think that all groups should be treated fairly. Second, despite positive explicit attitudes toward Blacks, Caucasians hold implicit

negative feelings toward them, and therefore try to avoid interracial interaction. Caucasians may not, however, be aware of the negative feelings they hold. Thus, for the Caucasian aversive racist there exists a nonconscious dissociation between their self-reported egalitarian values and automatically activated and uncontrollable negative feelings about Blacks (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Third, when interaction with Blacks is unavoidable, the discomfort and anxiety felt by aversive racists impels them to end the interracial interaction as quickly as possible. Fourth, aversive racists are concerned about acting inappropriately (appearing prejudiced) so they behave in accordance with socially sanctioned egalitarian practices when they cannot avoid interracial situations. Finally, the negative feelings toward Blacks will eventually get expressed by aversive racists, but in a subtle form – when a non-racist rationalization can shield them from accusations of racism.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1991) have characterized aversive racism as a product of normal psychological processes acting on the individual. The normal psychological processes perpetuating prejudice include: cognitive and motivational information processing biases that result from the implicit categorization of social objects (i.e., people) into ingroups and outgroups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Even when groups are arbitrarily formed for experimental purposes (as in a minimal intergroup situation), people evaluate ingroup members more favourably, and behave more positively toward ingroup members than toward outgroup members. When Tajfel (1970), for example, divided a group of young boys into two groups randomly based on the arbitrary categories 'overestimators' and 'underestimators', ingroup members awarded each other more points from a choice matrix. Despite the fact that individual

group members had not known each other before the experiment, nor had they even been aware of the existence of overestimators and underestimators, they still discriminated on the basis of the arbitrary groupings. This attests to the power of implicit categorization as a determinant of ingroup favouritism.

Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman and Tyler (1990) have proposed that a nonconscious, positive affective evaluation associated with the ingroup plays a central role in sustaining ingroup favouritism. In Experiment 2, Perdue et al. subliminally presented Caucasian participants with ingroup (us, we, ours) and outgroup (them, they, theirs) pronouns masked by positive or negative trait adjectives. Participants were asked to decide as quickly as possible whether the adjective was positive (good) or negative (bad) by pressing either of two keys on a computer keyboard. Participants had faster reaction times (RT's) to positive traits after being primed with ingroup-designating pronouns rather than outgroup-designating pronouns, and faster RT's to negative traits after outgroup pronouns than after an ingroup ones. Interestingly, RT's to subliminally presented control primes ("XXX") added in Experiment 3, did not differ from the RTs to the negative traits primed with outgroup-designating pronouns. Perdue et al. concluded that outgroups are not necessarily being evaluated more negatively, but rather that ingroups are being shown a positive bias in comparison to the outgroup.

Similarly, Gaertner and McLaughlin (1983) used a lexical decision task to study the associations between negatively and positively valued words and Blacks and Caucasians. They found that the reaction times to negatively valued words did not differ as a function of race. Blacks and Caucasians were rated equally negatively

for 'lazy', 'stupid', and 'welfare'. For the positively valued words (ambitious, clean, and smart), however, the reaction times were much faster for the prime 'Whites' than for the prime 'Blacks'. Gaertner and McLaughlin conclude that the negativity that once characterized Caucasians' attitudes toward Blacks had decreased, but bias is now being displayed by the higher rating of Caucasians than Blacks on positively valued characteristics.

Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner (2000) have noted that aversive racists are very wary of appearing prejudiced. Aversive racist bias thus gets subtly expressed in terms of pro-Caucasian attitudes rather than anti-Black negativity. The resulting discrimination against Blacks, however, is just as detrimental – low-paying jobs and segregated housing still place economic and social restrictions on the advancement of Black Americans in North America.

Although the automatic process of categorization is sufficient to bias one against outgroup members, categorization remains a necessary cognitive tool for dealing with the social world. Allport (2000) noted that it would be a phenomenal waste of time and energy if we had to evaluate every object as an entity by itself. Categorization is a cognitively efficient means of dealing with the myriad social information that confronts modern men and women on a daily basis (Tomaskovic-Devey, Mason, & Zingraff, 2004). Tomaskovic-Devey et al. added that categorization occurs automatically and unconsciously – often based upon the social categories that are immediately apparent in the situational context. Dovidio and Gaertner (2004) agreed that Caucasians spontaneously and effortlessly differentiate people of other races (especially Blacks) from their own Caucasian ingroup.

Furthermore, racial differentiation is so well entrenched that even the mere symbolic presence of a Black outgroup member is sufficient to activate racial categorization. Salient physical characteristics such as race, gender, and age, then, are readily available social cues along which categorical lines can be, and are often drawn.

Stereotypes are cognitive constructs that help parse the social world into easily manageable chunks. Wilson, Dunham and Alpert (2004) have noted that stereotypes serve the essential cognitive function of classifying, categorizing, and forming judgments about objects in the environment. Stereotypes thus serve an important cognitive function in directing attitudes toward outgroup members, but are only one of the three components of the attitudinal triumvirate (cognition, behaviour, and affect) that defines prejudice (Ihsan, 1997; Jackson, Hodge, Gerard, Ingram, Ervin, & Sheppard, 1996). As such, categorization by stereotypes may not, alone, fully explain prejudicial attitudes directed toward outgroup members. Indeed, much evidence has been found (Haddock, Zanna, and Esses, 1993; Jackson, Hodge, Gerard, Ingram, Ervin, and Sheppard, 1996; Jackson, Lewandowski, Ingram and Hodge, 1997; Stangor, Sullivan, and Ford, 1991; Zanna, 1994) for an equal or greater impact of affect on prejudiced attitudes toward outgroup members.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1993) have also noted that concomitant with categorical responses are affective responses of an evaluative nature. Desteno, Dasgupta, Bartlett, and Cajdric (2004) suggested not only that automatic appraisals can trigger emotion, but also that the resultant emotional states influence subsequent appraisals. Accordingly, Bargh and Chartrand (1999) noted that individuals are continually and automatically engaged in a nonconscious evaluation of environmental

stimuli. Chen and Bargh (1999) further argued that this automatic evaluation serves the biologically adaptive purpose of distinguishing between safe or threatening environmental stimuli when conscious processing is unavailable or overtaxed. Bargh, Chaikin, Gollwitzer, and Pratto (1992) stated that evaluations (for both social and non-social objects) become automatically activated by the mere presence of the object (person) in the environment. This has important implications for the conversion of negative implicit evaluation into nonconscious behavioural reactions to outgroup members. Automatic positive evaluations will result in approach behaviour, while negative evaluations will result in avoidance behaviour (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999). If Caucasians continually and automatically evaluate ethnic outgroup members negatively, avoidance behaviour toward these groups will result (as predicted by aversive racism). Furthermore, the stereotypes associated with various outgroups will continue unchallenged.

Caucasians, say Gaertner and Dovidio (2000), have learned negative evaluative attitudes toward Black Americans because they are living in a historically/culturally racist society. Early socialization processes (parents, other ingroup members, the media, etc.) teach Caucasian children negative evaluative attitudes toward members of the Black outgroup (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Rudman (2004) concurs that implicitly learned, preverbal evaluative attitudes may serve as a nonconscious source for later automatic evaluations of social stimuli. Thus, implicit, negatively valenced affective reactions may direct the aversive racist's behaviour toward outgroups members, at least during the early developmental stages. As (and if) we learn the explicit, non-racist values of our

culture through further socialization, however, an egalitarian value system develops to consciously guide us through social encounters. According to Wilson, Lindsey, and Schooler (2000) the earlier negative evaluative attitudes are not replaced, but are stored in memory and become our implicit evaluative attitudes. Thus a system of dual attitudes evolves: we hold explicit (consciously learned) attitudes that are favourable toward Black Americans, but may also hold implicit (nonconscious and automatically activated) negative attitudes that linger to influence our attitudes and behaviour in interracial interactions.

The negative affect experienced by aversive racists is not the overt hostility and hate that characterized the behaviour of old-fashioned racists (McConahay, 1986, 1983), but rather involves "discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and sometimes fear" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, p. 14). The aversive racist experiences only diffuse feelings (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002), however, and as such, the feelings may remain cognitively unappraised by the perceiver (Stapel, Koomen, & Ruys, 2002). This is possibly why the aversive racist is not fully aware of these implicit negative attitudes, and the dissociation between self-reported egalitarian values and implicit, negative, evaluative affect occurs. It is not altogether surprising that the aversive racist remains unaware of these implicitly negative attitudes as most of the 'real work' of cognition is done at a level to which our consciousness has no access (Lewicki, Hill & Czyzewska, 1992). Indeed, this inaccessible part of our cognitive apparatus is "directly involved in the development of interpretive categories, drawing inferences, determining emotional reactions, and other high-level cognitive operations traditionally associated with consciously controlled thinking" (p.

801). In contrast, the much slower, consciously directed, information processing system has a limited processing capacity, and manages but a few cognitive operations at one time (Shiffrin & Schneider, 1977). While the controlled processing system's resources are easily depleted, the automatic, nonconscious, processing system continues to influence on-line processing without awareness.

One important consequence of this nonconscious, automatic processing, add Shiffrin and Schneider, is that automatic behaviours and attitudes are most difficult to modify once learned. This automatic-processing results in an attitudinal rigidity that diminishes the individual's ability to deal impartially with novel people and situations (Hinton, 2000). This may, in part, explain why affectively negative implicit attitudes may persist despite proof of their invalidity. The subtle attitudinal biases that result from implicit cognitive, motivational, and cultural influences are, thus, particularly resistant to change (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Programs aimed at changing explicit values are only doomed to failure because the implicit evaluative attitudes remain unchallenged. The aversive racist already knows and agrees that discrimination and prejudice are bad, so reiterating the point does not, say Gaertner and Dovidio, change his/her explicit, non-racist self-image.

Bodenhausen, Mussweiler, Gabriel, and Moreno (2001) have suggested that aversive racists will endeavour to convince themselves that automatically activated feelings of discomfort and anxiety during an interracial interaction are not due to the race of an interaction partner. Having explicitly learned that race-based discrimination is wrong, the aversive racist's anxiety will not be attributed to the ethnicity of the interaction partner. The aversive racist will, therefore, search for a

non-racial rationalization for the feelings of uneasiness. Ito and Cacioppo (2001) noted that if the reason for negative emotions such as anxiety are unclear, individuals will 'confabulate' a seemingly rational explanation for the aroused state. As Schachter and Singer (1962) have suggested, the individual will scan the environment in search of a reasonable explanation for the arousal. In this manner, the aversive racist will buffer him/herself against accusations of racism from without and safeguard against self-recrimination from within.

The impact of negative implicit affect on cognitive decision-making can perhaps best be illustrated using Donald Norman's (2004) plank analogy. First, take a 10 m long by 1 m wide plank and lay it on the ground. Can you walk on it? Of course, even with eyes closed and going backwards. Now prop the plank up so that it's a couple of meters off the ground. Can you walk on it now? Yes, but a little more cautiously. Finally, raise the plank 100 meters into the air. At this point most people would not consider walking the plank, even though walking along it should prove no more difficult than when it was on the ground. At a rational, cognitive level we realize that it is the same plank, and that we possess the same ability to walk on it as if it was on the ground. At the implicit affective level, however, we are frozen with fear and anxiety at the thought of getting up on that plank. The fear and anxiety win out! We may not be consciously aware of the anxiety, but we will justify our reluctance with any number of rationalizations (e.g., The wind is too strong!). This is how, says Norman, negative implicit affect influences explicit cognitive decision-making.

Nonconscious Negative Attitudes Toward Blacks

There is much empirical evidence pointing to the implicit negative evaluation of Blacks by Caucasian ingroup members. Subliminally priming participants with category labels, stereotypical traits, or even photographs is often sufficient to evoke a negative evaluative reaction toward a Black outgroup target. Both Devine (1989) and Lepore and Brown (1997) subliminally primed participants with a mixture of category labels and traits stereotypically associated with the African Americans and West Indians, respectively. In the Devine study, a race-unspecified target was rated as more hostile after priming with a list composed of 80% stereotypic/category-related words as compared to a group exposed to a list composed of only 20% stereotypic-related words. Lepore and Brown observed that subliminally primed participants rated an ethnically-unspecified target more negatively than those not primed with the category and stereotypic words. In both studies, explicitly measured prejudice level did not account for the results -- high- and low-prejudiced individuals judged the target similarly. This research bolsters the aversive racism contention that nonconscious affective evaluations, even for avowedly non-prejudiced individuals, may be the key element in directing perceptions of outgroup targets in a negative direction.

Priming participants with photographs of Black and Caucasian faces is also effective in demonstrating implicit negative evaluations of outgroup members. Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, and Williams (1997) asked Black and Caucasian participants to quickly evaluate positive and negative target adjectives (as 'good' or 'bad') after being primed with photographs of Black and Caucasian target faces. Both Black and

Caucasian participants had faster RT's both to positive adjectives preceded by photos of ingroup members, and negative adjectives preceded by photos of outgroup members. These results indicate that implicit ingroup bias is not particular to Caucasians alone, but little work has been done to assess the implicit attitudes of Blacks toward Caucasians. Again, prejudice level was irrelevant to the RT task -- the unconscious priming activated Caucasian participants' negative evaluations about Blacks regardless of their explicit prejudice level. Fazio et al. conclude that it is not cultural stereotypes that are automatically activated in the presence of an attitude object, but rather an implicit personal evaluation of the object or person. Thus, implicit evaluation may be equally, if not more, important than shared cultural stereotypes in predicting attitudes and behaviour toward outgroup members.

Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, and Howard (1997) also primed Caucasian participants with subliminally presented photographs of Black and Caucasian faces for 30 ms. Participants were asked to decide (by quickly pressing a 'yes' or 'no' key) whether the test word could ever describe either a person or a house. Participants' response times to negative target words were significantly faster following the Black than following the Caucasian prime. Response times to positive words were also significantly faster following the Caucasian than following the Black prime. This response latency measure (representing implicit racial attitudes) was only weakly correlated with two measures of explicit attitudes (McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale, and Brigham's (1993) Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale). The results of this study thus lend further support to the existence of implicit evaluative biases that are not predicted by traditional, explicit measures of prejudice.

Barg, Chen and Burrows (1996, Experiment 3) also subliminally primed participants with pictures of either Black or Caucasian faces while they carried out the menial task of estimating the number of coloured circles on a computer screen. After 130 such trials, the computer supposedly malfunctioned and the experimenter informed the participant that the experiment had to be performed again. Both the experimenter and independent video coders rated participants who had been primed with the Black faces as more hostile than participants primed with the Caucasian faces. The subliminal priming with Black faces had apparently activated implicit hostility, which influenced the participants' reactions to the experimenter's request to complete the onerous task again.

In a follow-up study, Chen and Bargh (1997) observed that the automatic activation of implicit hostility leads to a behavioural confirmation effect (also known as the self-fulfilling prophesy) in an interaction partner. Caucasian participants primed with either Black or Caucasian faces interacted verbally with another (Caucasian) interaction partner during a game of "Catch Phrase". Participants primed with the Black faces behaved with greater hostility toward interaction partners. The Caucasian interaction partners countered with hostility in response to the participants' nonconscious hostile behaviours, thus demonstrating behavioural confirmation of an implicit evaluation of hostility in the subliminally influenced participants.

The mere presence of a Black person has also been shown to elicit a nonconscious state of arousal in Caucasians. Nail, Harton, and Decker (2003) observed that aversive racists (i.e., Liberals) show greater physiological arousal in the presence of a Black versus a Caucasian experimenter. Two measures of physiological

arousal (touch skin conductance, heart rate) were higher for Caucasian participants touched by a Black experimenter compared to those touched by a Caucasian experimenter. They reasoned that the presence of the Black experimenter primed the aversive racists' conflicting values and feelings, resulting in increased discomfort and arousal.

Vanman, Paul, Ito, and Miller (1997) used facial electromyography (EMG) to study Caucasian participants' reactions to photographs of Black and Caucasian students (Experiment 3). Participants' EMG measures indicated a greater level of negative affect for Black targets, even though Black targets were rated higher than Caucasian targets on an explicit measure of apparent friendliness. Vanman et al. conclude that Caucasian American students do show signs of immediate and automatic physiological arousal in the presence of Black Americans.

It is apparent from the above studies that Caucasians may hold implicitly negative evaluative attitudes toward Blacks. Furthermore, these implicitly biased attitudes may influence the individual's behaviour toward a Black outgroup member automatically, and nonconsciously.

Dovidio and Gaertner's Research on Helping Behaviour

While carrying out a study comparing the helping behaviour of Caucasian liberals and conservatives, Dovidio and Gaertner (from Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004) realized that racial discrimination was more complex (and subtle) than they had originally anticipated. In a field study in Brooklyn, NY, Black and Caucasian participants made phone calls to Caucasian Liberal and Conservative households (as indicated by political party affiliation) asking for assistance because of car problems.

As expected, Liberals were more helpful to Black callers than were Conservatives but Liberals had a greater tendency to hang up before the Black caller had the chance to explain the situation. Dovidio and Gaertner concluded that the Liberals were also prejudiced but revealed the prejudice in a more subtle way than Conservatives. By disengaging from the situation before normative social values for helping were concretely entrenched, the Liberals had spared themselves from self-attributions of racism. This subtle form of discrimination became the focus of Dovidio and Gaertner's aversive racism theory.

Aversive racism theory was tested in a laboratory situation modeled after Darley and Latane's (1968) 'bystander effect' experiment. Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) created a mock emergency in which a confederate (the victim) was ostensibly hurt after a pile of chairs had fallen on her. Caucasian participants were led to believe either that they were the only witnesses hearing the confederate scream (when the chairs had fallen) or that two other Caucasian participants were listening simultaneously to the event over an intercom system. In the single-participant condition Black and Caucasian confederates were helped equally often. In the multiple-participant condition, however, the Caucasian confederate was helped twice as often as the Black confederate. Gaertner and Dovidio interpreted this as direct evidence of aversive racism. The aversive racist participants could justify their non-helping behaviour toward a Black confederate because they could offer the excuse that one of the other participants would come to the rescue of the Black confederate. The prejudiced Caucasian participants were thus spared having to accept their own nonconscious racist feelings and attitudes toward Blacks.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1981) also studied attitudes to affirmative action by focussing on the effect of status and ability on the helping behaviour of Caucasians toward Blacks. A Black or Caucasian confederate (of higher or lower status and/or ability than the participant) 'accidentally' knocked over a container of pencils sitting on a desk where he was completing a set of forms with a Caucasian participant. The researchers observed that status was the determining variable when helping the Black but not the Caucasian confederate pick up the spilled pencils. More concisely, Black subordinates were helped significantly more than Black supervisors regardless of ability level. According to Dovidio and Gaertner, these results indicate that Black outgroup members are judged more negatively than Caucasian ingroup members, especially if their social status exceeds that of a Caucasian interaction partner. Caucasians may feel anxious and threatened by a Black person of greater social status because an implicitly ingrained social order (of Caucasians as the dominant social group) is challenged. Nonconscious feelings are thus subtly expressed as a bias in favour of the status quo social order.

A final study about helping behaviour by Frey and Gaertner in 1986 (from Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) further illustrated that aversive racists consider Blacks undeserving of assistance and will show bias against them if the opportunity arises. Caucasian participants in a laboratory experiment received a note from a Black or Caucasian partner who was supposedly working on an anagram task that was easier or more difficult than the participant's own. The Black or Caucasian partner requesting help in the more difficult anagram condition was said to be working hard, but the anagrams were very difficult. In the easy anagram condition the partner was

said to be playing around instead of working hard. Consistent with aversive racism theory, when it is clearly appropriate to help (i.e. in the more difficult anagram task condition where the partner was really trying) both Black and Caucasian partners were helped equally. In the easy task condition, however, where it was clear that the partner was much less deserving, Black partners were helped considerably less than Caucasian partners. Participants would not discriminate against the Black partner in the difficult condition where need and deservingness were very clearly delineated. Under these conditions, attributions of racism are avoided by following clearly defined social expectations. In the undeserving condition, however, the aversive racist was free to discriminate against the Black partner because rationalizations (of undeservingness) were readily available.

The helping behaviour studies illustrate aversive racism in action. In real-world situations, however, where helping outgroup members is vital to their very survival, the consequences for not helping can be far more detrimental. Murphy-Berman, Berman, and Campbell (1998), for instance, studied helping behaviour related to making healthcare decisions for a Black or a Caucasian patient. Participants were asked to make decisions regarding the allocation of healthcare resources to a 56-year-old Black or Caucasian male patient who needed surgery for a heart problem. Pertinent to aversive racism theory there was no main effect of race, but several two-way interactions were found between the patient's race and employment status. When the patient was Black (as opposed to Caucasian) and employed, participants gave him a higher priority rating, agreed that a higher percentage of funds for the operation should be paid by the government, were willing to pay more personally, and felt less

resentment toward the patient. When the patient was unemployed, however, Caucasians were given the more favourable ratings on these same dimensions. It thus appears that aversive racism may also play a role in the allocation of healthcare resources. The racism is not directly expressed, however, as the main effect for race was not significant. The racism was apparently rationalized in terms of employment status. When the Black patient was unemployed aversive racist participants had a ready excuse to rationalize their racist feelings. When he was employed, however, the aversive racist participants overcompensated by rating him as more deserving of merit than his Caucasian counterpart.

Aversive Racism in Vocational and Educational Decision-Making

The subtle processes that constitute aversive racism can be just as potent as overt racism in keeping minority group members from receiving the same benefits as members of the dominant Caucasian ingroup (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Bachman, 2001). Dovidio and Gaertner (1991) noted that even though there is a general social consensus regarding the need for improved social, educational and vocational opportunities for Blacks in the United States, implementation of affirmative action policies is yet met with great resistance. Studies focussed on employment and educational decision-making reflect this reality. In these studies aversive racists provided with a non-race-related excuse to discriminate will generally do so.

McPhail (2002) asked 219 corporate professionals to evaluate Black and Caucasian job applicants for a fictitious security company. The applicants were applying for either an entry-level or managerial position, and had left their previous jobs because of circumstances beyond their control (No Fault) or because of poor

work performance, etc. (Fault condition). Unexpectedly, McPhail found a fault by position by race interaction effect. In the entry-level position Black applicants were rated more favourably than Caucasian applicants, regardless of why the applicant left the last position. In the managerial level position, however, Caucasian applicants were rated more favourably than Black applicants when at Fault for leaving their last position. This is evidence of aversive racism because race was used as a determining factor in favouring Caucasian over Black applicants for the higher- paying, higher-status managerial position. It appears that Caucasians are given the "benefit of the doubt", McPhail concludes, when it comes to the higher-status jobs within an organization.

Over a ten year period (1989-1999) Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) also studied the impact of Caucasians' selection decisions on the employability of Black and Caucasian job candidates. They found that although self-reported prejudice had decreased over that period, Caucasians still discriminated against a Black employment candidate in 1999 as they had in 1989. After reading a brief description of an ostensibly new peer counselling program, participants were asked to evaluate a single candidate on the basis of interview excerpts. Race (Black vs. Caucasian) and qualifications (clearly strong, ambiguous, or clearly weak) were manipulated to create six conditions. A race by qualifications interaction was obtained. In the weak and clearly strong conditions Black and Caucasian candidates were recommended equally often. In the ambiguous condition, however, Black candidates were recommended less frequently than comparable Caucasian candidates. Thus, like McPhail (2002), Dovidio and Gaertner concluded that Caucasians are given the benefit of the doubt

when their abilities are ambiguously defined, but Black candidates are not assumed to possess the same positive potential.

Hodson, Dovidio, and Gaertner (2002) were also interested in the effects of ambiguous information on selection decisions, but chose a university admissions decision as the dependent measure. Participants were provided with applications detailing consistent or mixed qualifications about prospective Black and Caucasian applicants. In the strong qualifications condition the applicant was said to have strong Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores coupled with a strong high school performance. In the weak condition the SAT scores and high school performance were poor. In the mixed qualifications condition the applicant was strong on one qualification but weak on the other. In addition to making the selection decisions, participants were also asked to rank eight different criteria relevant to their decisions, thus allowing the researchers to examine the way in which aversive racists use conflicting information to rationalize their decisions.

High-prejudiced participants recommended Blacks significantly less in the mixed qualifications conditions, whereas, low-prejudice participants selected Blacks for admission just slightly more across all four qualifications conditions. The most interesting observation was an applicant condition (mixed qualifications) by criteria interaction. High-prejudiced participants ranked the criterion on which Blacks were weaker as the more important to university success. For example, if a Black applicant had strong SAT scores but weak high school achievement, aversive racism was shown by ranking high school achievement as the more important factor for university admission. High-prejudice participants thus shifted the weight of the

criteria to disadvantage Black applicants, further demonstrating how aversive racists rationalize their responses when non-race-related excuses are available to shield them from accusations of racism.

Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Grunfeld, Robichaud, and Zanna (2005) asked non-prejudiced or aversive racist participants to evaluate a Caucasian (Gary Walsh) or an Asian (Gary Chang) job candidate for either a data analyst position (for which both candidates' job qualifications matched) or an employee relations specialist position (for which good social and communication skills are required). Participants read a job description for one of the positions and were asked whether they recommended Gary Walsh (Chang) be hired for the position. The Asian target (Gary Chang) was significantly less likely to be recommended for hiring in the excuse condition (i.e., as an employee relations specialist) when the decision was made by the aversive racist participants. Additionally, the Asian target was remembered as having worse social skills when evaluated by aversive racists in the excuse condition as compared to the other conditions. The authors concluded that aversive racist participants had engaged in a biased retrieval process in order to emphasize Gary Chang's deficiencies – thus providing a non-racist rationalization and preserving their non-racist self-images.

The Import of Ambiguity in Aversive Racism Theory

The implicit negative affect of the aversive racist will get expressed, but only when normative prescriptive behaviour is ambiguous or lacking and when a non-racist rationalization is available. When norms are clear, and the attribution of racism is possible, the aversive racist will not openly express the implicit affect toward an outgroup member. In fact, attitudes toward an outgroup member may often appear

more favourable than the attitudes toward a Caucasian ingroup member. Aberson and Ettlín (2004) conducted a meta-analysis of 31 studies examining the conditions promoting favouritism for Caucasian and Black targets. They observed that Blacks were more unfavourably perceived when the evaluative criteria were ambiguous, but more favourably perceived when egalitarianism was the clear social norm for responding. At a finer level of analysis, studies with a majority of Caucasian or a majority of Black participants were compared under both ambiguous and egalitarian conditions. When social norms were ambiguous, the studies with a majority of Caucasian participants favoured Caucasian targets and the Black majority participants showed favouritism for Black targets. Under conditions favouring egalitarianism, however, the Caucasian majority favoured Black targets, but the Black majority still favoured targets from their own ingroup. Definitive conclusions for the Black majority studies are limited, however, by the small number of studies (4) used in the analysis.

The Current Research

The above research clearly illustrates that implicitly negative affective attitudes toward Black Americans are held by many of the Caucasian members of the Caucasian majority in America today. According to Dovidio and Gaertner (2004), the theory of aversive racism is central to explaining the nature of these anti-Black attitudes. It is important to acknowledge, however, that interracial friction between Caucasians and Blacks in the United States is a product of a legally-sanctioned caste system developed in the Southern US during the days of Black enslavement by Caucasians (Marden & Meyer, 1973). Marden and Meyer also noted that racial

tension was constantly present between Caucasians and Blacks in the South -- often culminating in acts of rebellion against the Caucasian slave owners. Katz (1974) corroborates that racial discrimination toward Blacks has existed since the early days of slavery. Generations of Caucasian Americans may thus have learned implicit negative attitudes via the cultural transmission of tacitly understood affective messages, perpetuating a nonconscious emotional aversion to Black Americans (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; McConahay, 1986).

The historical animosity between Caucasian and Black Americans must certainly have augmented the development of aversive racism. According to Feagan (2000) "From the seventeenth century to the present the ideology justifying antiblack oppression, while overtly cognitively and legally enshrined, has had a strong emotional base" (p. 77). The intergenerational transmission of nonconscious, affectively negative attitudes may thus be the critical factor in perpetuating aversive racism against Blacks in America today. A history of interracial conflict, however, should not be the primary precondition for aversive racism to occur. The crucial question, then, is whether aversive racism theory can also predict subtle prejudice toward a minority group where prolonged historical conflict with the Caucasian majority is lacking? The research proposed here considers a situation where the majority Caucasian group has had very limited social/historical contact and conflict with an ethnic minority group. Controlling for the influence of historical conflict between the majority Caucasian group and a minority (in this case Asian) group will buttress the aversive racism claim that implicitly negative affect derived from

categorization into ingroup/outgroup membership is the critical precondition for subtle racial discrimination to occur.

Memorial University has a predominantly Caucasian student body, many of whom have had little direct social/historical experience with non-Caucasian cultures. Data obtained from the university's International Students Advising Office indicate that there were 769 International students (approximately 5 per cent of the total student population) registered at MUN during the 2006, Winter semester. Of those, 537 were from Asian countries (primarily China, Bangladesh, and India). Furthermore, almost half of those (259) were from China. Chinese students thus comprise the largest non-Caucasian ethnic group on the MUN university campus.

Important to the present research is the seemingly non-existent social/historical conflict between the Asian and Caucasian groups on Memorial University campus. While it is true that a 'yellow peril' stereotype, characterizing Asians as perpetual foreigners who could never assimilate into U.S. society, was manifested in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Abreu, Ramirez, Kim, & Haddy, 2003), the yellow peril threat shifted from one Asian group to another, depending upon North America's social/political relationships (with Japan and China in particular) at any given point in the 20th century (Kawai, 2005). The ephemeral nature of the yellow peril stereotype indicates that North American stereotypes about Asians fluctuate in harmony with the prevailing global social/political climate and opinion. Asian ethnic group members should be evaluated favourably by the sample of students selected for this research because they should be stereotyped as high in

instrumental success (i.e., academic and economic achievement) relative to other ethnic groups in North America (Ho & Jackson, 2001).

Asians have been stereotyped as the 'model minority' (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Kawai, 2005) because they have attained the financial and educational success idealized in the 'American Dream'. Burton, Greenberger, and Hayward (2005) suggest that Chinese Americans, in particular, represent "a kind of gold standard for achievement" to which all other North American minority ethnic groups are compared (p. 364). Indeed, the positive stereotypes associated with Asian Americans (e.g., "extremely intelligent, studious, very hardworking, disciplined, good in math, heads of business") support this proposition (Jackson, Lewandowski, Ingram, & Hodge, 1997, p. 386).

Ironically, those positive stereotypes that engender feelings of respect and admiration from the Caucasian majority, may also work against the Asian ethnic minority. Ho and Jackson (2001) suggest that feelings of "threat, resentment, envy, and hostility" (p. 1555) toward Asians may arise because the successful Asian minority may be perceived as competition, and therefore a threat to majority group member success. North American Caucasians may overtly express admiration and respect toward Asian ethnic group members for their instrumental successes, while simultaneously holding nonconscious negative evaluations based on fear and resentment. When permitted to express these nonconscious evaluations in a subtle manner, however, the sample of Memorial University students selected for this research should make pro-ingroup judgments, as predicted by aversive racism theory.

In summary, the research proposed here hypothesizes that aversive racism is not contingent upon a protracted history of conflict between a majority Caucasian and a minority ethnic group. That aversive racism can be demonstrated within a sample of students on the campus at Memorial University will demonstrate that aversive racism is not culturally and historically based.

Academic Dishonesty and Aversive Racism

Studies of employment and educational decision-making are convenient vehicles for demonstrating the mechanics of aversive racism. Pretending to sit as a personnel manager, however, may not engender the greatest experimental realism for a group of undergraduate social science students who have had limited first-hand experience with the hiring of job candidates. The present study increases mundane and experimental realism by involving participants in a decision-making process related to their everyday existence as students. Students may be well aware of directives to maintain academic honesty and integrity, but when faced with the ever-increasing pressures toward academic excellence, may succumb to those pressures by taking academic shortcuts. With the proliferation of internet sites offering easy solutions to students who want the grade without the grind, academic integrity can easily be compromised.

According to a report by the Josephson Institute of Ethics (2002) academic cheating is at an all time high. The 2002 survey of 12,000 U.S. high school students revealed that 74% of these students had cheated on an exam in the past year. Indeed, research conducted on more than 60 campuses in the United States by the Center for Academic Integrity (McCabe, 2005) corroborates these findings with 70% of students

admitting to some cheating in the past year. McCabe notes that 40% of students have admitted to 'cut-and-paste' plagiarism (i.e. weaving together disparate pieces of information from several different internet sites) and a full 77% did not believe that this was a serious academic issue. Jason Stevens of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2005) notes that although 85% of surveyed students do acknowledge that "copying from another student during a test" and "using crib notes or cheat sheets during a test" are wrong, they somehow rationalize their academic misconduct with what they perceive as pragmatic reasons (e.g., they cheat because they don't have time to do the work carefully). Only 18% of the surveyed students believed that "working on an assignment with other students when the teacher asked for individual work" was actually cheating. They rationalized their behaviour with the argument that collaboration with others was a legitimate part of the learning process, and was thus not cheating. It is obvious from the above statistics that normative prescriptions against academic misconduct are not sufficient to deter many students from cheating. Part of the problem may stem from the lack of knowledge about what particular behaviours constitute illegitimate academic activity. Donna Hardy Cox (2003) in the Newsletter of the Instructional Development Office at Memorial University of Newfoundland, cites a 1986 survey by Haines et al. which asked students why they cheated. Among the top ten reasons for cheating were "Students sitting around me made no attempt to cover pages", "Don't have time to study because I am working to pay for school", "The instructor assigns too much material." and "The instructor left the room during the test". Hardy Cox adds that, "What may be cheating to one person in one context may not be considered cheating to another

person" (2003, p. 2). Indeed, the ambiguity inherent in the academic integrity issue parallels that found in aversive racism theory. Both the aversive racist and the student committing academic fraud may concoct (often specious) rationalizations for their undesirable social behaviours.

The present research will explore aversive racism beyond the personnel office. Scenarios involving possible breaches of academic integrity will provide the context within which social science undergraduate students might express negative implicit attitudes toward Asian and 'International student' targets. Much of the research using purportedly non-reactive explicit prejudice measures has not correlated well with the patterns of bias shown against Blacks on implicit measures of prejudice (Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al., 1997; Fazio et al., 1997; Lepore & Brown, 1997). Using an explicit measure of prejudice may thus be ineffective in eliciting genuine attitudes because of its reactive nature, especially as it pertains to a sensitive topic such as racism. An explicit measure of prejudice was, therefore, excluded from this research.

All participants will be given a single scenario about which a judgment of guilt pertaining to academic integrity will be made. Limiting the judgment task to a single scenario, per participant, is meant to control for the possible confound of social comparison effects. Each scenario will feature a Caucasian, an Asian, or an International student target engaging in a weak, moderate, or strong academically dishonest behaviour (determined by a pilot study). In line with the research on aversive racism presented above, differences are expected across target race when guilt is moderate but, not when it is weak or strong. When guilt is clearly weak or strong (in the Low and High guilt conditions) participants should rate the Caucasian,

Asian, and International targets as equally guilty of academic misconduct. In the Moderate condition, however, where situational ambiguity provides an opportunity for nonconscious racism to manifest, it is hypothesized that Asian and International student targets will be judged guiltier of having committed an act of academic dishonesty than Caucasian targets.

Method

This research was comprised of two separate but interdependent studies. An initial pilot study (Study 1) was used to develop a set of three scenarios which were administered to participants in Study 2. The pilot work of Study 1 took place over several sessions in a statistics laboratory course setting. Study 1 was crucial to the formation of the final three scenarios used in Study 2.

Study 1 (Pilot Study)

Participants

The participants for the pilot study were 69 male and female students (over 96% Caucasian) from a first-year psychology statistics course.

Materials and Procedure

The materials were developed based on an academic honesty quiz found on the University of Manitoba's student resource website. The researcher's goal was to develop three significantly distinct scenarios to represent low, moderate, and high levels of judged target guilt. In order to code these scenarios, 34 students in an introductory statistics laboratory course were asked to make judgments about the guilt of a neutral target (i.e., student) featured in eight different scenarios depicting possible incidents of academic dishonesty. The students were asked to make a rating

of guilt on a scale that ranged from '0' (Not at all Guilty) to '9' (Totally Guilty). The original eight scenarios are listed in Appendix B. The second scenario was selected to represent Low guilt ($M = 1.24$, $SD = 1.44$); the first scenario ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 2.63$) to represent Moderate guilt; and the fifth selected to represent a High ($M = 6.03$, $SD = 1.95$) level of judged target guilt.

These three selected scenarios were administered to 17 students in a second introductory statistics laboratory course. Nine participants were given the four scenarios with the neutral 'student' target, and eight participants had the neutral 'student' target changed to 'a student from China' target. Each participant thus received four scenarios featuring either a neutral target or a Chinese student target. There were no significant differences found between the neutral target and the Chinese target for any of the scenarios (see Appendix B for examples).

Unsolicited written comments on 2 of the surveys suggested that participants may have been sensitive to the use of the Chinese student as the target in the scenarios. In order to reduce possible participant reactivity, the Chinese student target was subsequently replaced with the more general Asian student target designation. In addition, a specific subject area (i.e., sociology, computer science, business, or physics) was included as a variable in each scenario (see Appendix B for samples of these scenarios). Sociology was chosen as most representative of the social sciences. Computer science was selected to typify a subject area stereotypically associated with Asian students.

The survey was again administered to 18 participants in another introductory statistics class. The results of the t-tests for independent samples indicated that

differences between the Caucasian ($M = 7.20$, $N = 10$) and Asian ($M = 8.38$, $N = 8$) targets were greatest when computer science was included as the subject area in the scenarios, $t(16) = -1.96$, $p = .067$. Computer science was selected to be included as the subject area in the three final working scenarios for Study 2. The final versions of the three scenarios are found below. They are listed in order of low to high guilt ratings.

A MUN (international) student, P. Chalk (Chang), is assigned to work on a computer science assignment with three other students. The four group members each take a portion of the assignment and meet the week before the assignment is due to put their individual results together. The student is very meticulous with his part of the assignment. A few days after they submit the completed assignment, the instructor asks the group to stay behind after class to discuss possible plagiarism. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

During a computer science exam a MUN (international) student, P. Chalk (Chang), is permitted to go to the washroom. While there, the student's cell phone rings. The student has been told that all cell phones should be turned off during the exam, but answers it anyway. While sitting in the bathroom stall, the student is overheard whispering by one of the exam invigilators. The student is accused of cheating. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

A MUN student's roommate, P. Chalk (Chang) (an international student), asks to have a look at a computer science assignment the student did last term. The roommate says that he just wants to get some guidelines to make starting his assignment a little easier. The student notices the roommate's finished assignment on the coffee table and decides to have a look. To his surprise, the roommate's assignment contains large sections copied directly from his original. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the roommate?

Study 2

Participants

A total of 194 participants completed an Experimental booklet which contained only a single scenario. The predominantly Caucasian participants (96%) were recruited from introductory undergraduate psychology ($N = 173$) and sociology ($N = 21$) classes at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. There were

128 women, 63 men, and 3 of undeclared gender. All students participated voluntarily for no extrinsic reward, and their anonymity was fully guaranteed. Ethics approval had been granted by the ICEHR office at Memorial University. A copy of the ethics approval letter is included in Appendix A.

Materials

The three scenarios developed in the pilot study were utilized in Study 2. The Caucasian target in the Study 2 scenarios was thus introduced with an initial and surname at the beginning of each scenario. The Asian target was similarly introduced, but with the 'international' designation included. This approach parallels that used by Hing et al. (2005) whose targets had the common first name 'Gary' coupled with the typical Caucasian surname 'Walsh' or the typical Asian surname 'Chang'. It was important not to make the target's race too salient a factor in the judgment process. As Sommers and Ellsworth (2003) have observed, when race is made too salient a factor, the aversive racist will go out of his/her way to appear non-racist. In accord with aversive racism theory, then, presenting only a surname should be enough to initiate a nonconscious, negative affective reaction to the target (providing such an attitude is held by the participant) without priming explicit awareness of the racial implications of the judgment.

To control for the possible confound of the 'international' designation with the Asian target name a third target condition was added. This target consisted of the general designation International student without mention of target ethnicity. Theoretically, if aversive racism is merely a product of ingroup/outgroup differentiation then participants should discriminate between the Caucasian (Chalk)

and International student target by rating the Internationals as significantly guiltier of having committed an act of academic dishonesty (in the moderate condition) than the Caucasians.

Procedure

Each scenario was presented to participants with a cover page attached (see Appendix C for a copy of the two-page survey). The cover page explained the nature of the research and emphasized that responses were anonymous, and that responding was completely voluntary. Additionally, a paragraph included on the second page (prefacing the scenario) emphasized the problem of academic dishonesty at universities across Canada and reiterated the task required of the participant.

All survey data were collected, in accordance with ethically approved guidelines, during two regularly scheduled introductory psychology and one introductory sociology class between March and May, 2007. The researcher was the sole data collector, and the course instructors (for the psychology courses) helped with the distribution of the experimental booklet. The course instructor for the sociology class did not arrive at the room until after the survey had been distributed and collected by the researcher. Depending on class size, the entire procedure took between 10 – 15 min per class.

Distribution of the experimental booklet was always preceded by verbal instructions from the researcher. The researcher introduced himself as a graduate psychology student and explained that the survey was part of his thesis work. Participants were then informed about the judgment task they were being asked to complete. The verbal instructions corresponded to the written material. Finally,

participants were told that completing the survey was voluntary and that anonymity was fully guaranteed. Participants were asked if they had any questions before the survey was distributed.

The researcher and instructor (when involved) distributed the surveys starting at the front of the classroom. In larger classrooms it was more expeditious to hand out smaller stacks at several different locations in the room. Participants then randomly passed the surveys across and up the rows. The surveys had been ordered so that participants sitting next to each other would not receive the same scenario. The participants returned their completed surveys by placing them on the instructor's desk at the front of the classroom. The researcher again thanked participants for their help.

The scores obtained from the guilt judgments will initially be subjected to a 3 X 3 between subjects analysis of variance. Post hoc Tukey tests will then be performed to further pinpoint differences found within any significant Main Effects. Finally, nine planned comparisons using t-tests for independent samples will be carried out to determine if the Caucasian, Asian, or International targets differed from each other at any of the levels (Low, Moderate or High) of the Strength variable.

Results

Analysis of Variance

A 3 X 3 between subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the scores obtained from the scenario guilt judgments. Main effects for both Target, $F(2, 185) = 6.07, p < .01$, and Strength, $F(2, 185) = 28.6, p < .01$ variables were significant. Furthermore, there was no interaction between the Target and Guilt variables, $F(4, 185) = .19, p = .94$. The *MS Error* = 5.85.

Tukey Tests

The ANOVA was followed up with post hoc Tukey tests to further examine the Target and Strength Main Effects. Table 1 (on the following page) shows the number of participants per group, the means, and the standard deviations for the Target and Strength variables. Notice the independent effect of Target on participants' guilt scores. The Chang target ($M = 6.04$, $SD = 2.51$) was rated as guiltier of academic dishonesty than the Chalk target ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 2.88$) regardless of the scenario strength. The International target did not, however, differ from either the Chalk or Chang targets. Likewise, scenario Strength had an effect independent of the Target type. In this instance, however, the High Strength group ($M = 7.19$, $SD = 2.06$) was rated as significantly guiltier than both the Low ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 2.69$) and Moderate ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 2.60$) strength groups (which did not differ from one another). That the Low and Moderate Strength groups did not differ from each other is a cause for concern. It appears that these two scenarios were not rated as sufficiently different from one another to elicit an effect.

Table 1.

Tukey Test Results Indicating Differences Between the Means Within the Target and Strength Variables

	<u>Target</u>			<u>Strength of Scenario</u>		
	Chalk	Chang	Int'l	Low	Mod	High
<u>Participants per Group</u>	70	67	57	60	69	65
<i>M</i>	4.52 _a	6.04 _a	5.47	4.22 _b	4.54 _c	7.19 _{bc}
<i>SD</i>	2.88	2.51	2.78	2.69	2.60	2.06

Note. Matching subscripts indicate significant differences

between groups at $\alpha = .05$.

Planned Comparisons

Planned comparisons using two-tailed t-tests for independent samples were used to compare the Chalk target against the Chang and International targets at all three levels of scenario strength. The Chang and International targets were also compared against each other to determine whether the specific ethnic target (i.e., Asian) was rated as guiltier of academic dishonesty than the more general International student target. The results for these comparisons are found in Table 2 on the following page.

Of the nine planned comparisons, only two differed significantly at the $\alpha = .05$ level. In Table 2, observe that the Chalk and Chang targets were significantly different from each other at the Moderate and High scenario strength levels. In Table 2, the subscript 'a' denotes that at the Moderate scenario strength Chang was judged

Table 2.

Mean Ratings of Guilt for Three Targets at All Levels of Scenario Strength

SCENARIO STRENGTH	TARGET			
		Chalk	Chang	International
Low	<i>N</i>	22	20	18
	<i>M</i>	3.41	4.80	4.56
	<i>SD</i>	2.67	2.78	2.50
Moderate	<i>N</i>	26	24	19
	<i>M</i>	3.81 _a	5.46 _a	4.37
	<i>SD</i>	2.48	2.34	2.85
High	<i>N</i>	22	23	20
	<i>M</i>	6.48 _b	7.74 _b	7.35
	<i>SD</i>	2.61	1.32	1.93

Note. Matching subscripts indicate significant

differences between groups at $\alpha = .05$.

guiltier of academic dishonesty than Chalk with a $t(48) = 2.41$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.68$. The subscript 'b' denotes that at the High scenario strength Chang was again judged guiltier of academic dishonesty than Chalk with a $t(43) = 2.06$, $p = .05$, $d = 0.29$. Notice that the (Cohen's d) effect size for the Moderate scenario strength ($d = 0.68$) is verging on large but, the effect size for the High scenario strength ($d = 0.29$) is closer to small than medium. It would appear that the significant difference at the Moderate scenario strength is a meaningful difference, whereas, the significant difference at the High scenario strength is less dependable as an indicator of a meaningful difference.

There were no significant differences found between the Chalk and International student targets or the Chang and International student targets.

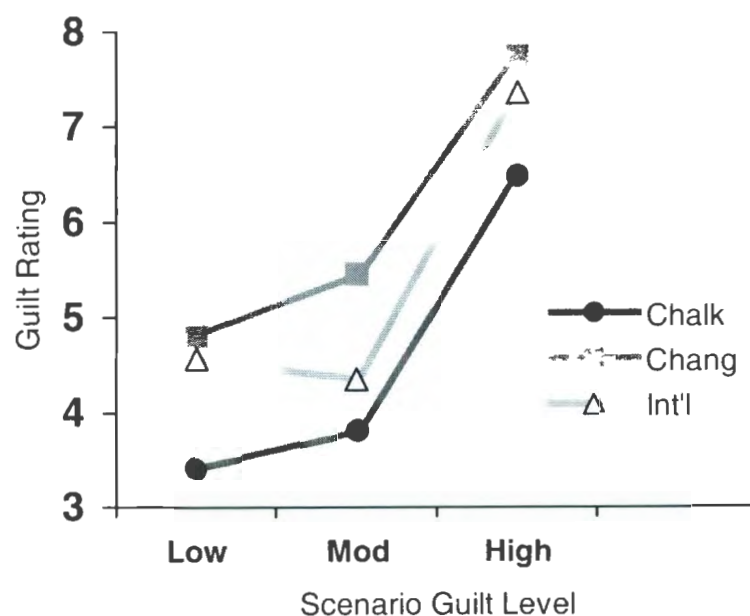


Figure 1. Change in Guilt Ratings for the Chalk, Chang, and International student targets as the scenario guilt level increases from Low to High.

The data from Table 2 have been illustrated in Figure 1. Notice that the guilt ratings for the three targets follow the same general pattern. As scenario guilt level increases from Low to High there is a corresponding increase in guilt rating for the Chalk and Chang and International targets. Interestingly, the International target is always rated as less guilty than the Chang target but, guiltier than the Chalk target. This may be indicative of uncertainty about how to interpret the International student target compared to the Chang and Chalk targets.

Discussion

The above results appear to indicate that aversive racism was evident in judgments about the academic integrity of Asian versus Caucasian student targets.

Given the number of planned comparisons (9) performed on the data, however, caution is advised in the interpretation of the results. The high number of comparisons certainly increases the possibility of Type I error (i.e., rejecting the null hypothesis when it shouldn't be rejected). Applying a Bonferroni correction would reduce the alpha sufficiently to negate the two significant differences but, as these were not unplanned comparisons, the application of Bonferroni may be too stringent. When interpreting these results a healthy measure of caution is none-the-less advised.

In two of three scenario strength conditions (Moderate and High) an Asian student target (Chang) was ostensibly rated as significantly guiltier of having committed an act of academic dishonesty than a Caucasian student target (Chalk). Higher ratings of guilt for the Chang target in the Moderate scenario strength condition had been predicted by aversive racism theory. The post hoc Tukey test results for scenario strength reveal that participants were very ambivalent about the guilt of the target in the Moderate scenario condition, placing the rated target guilt ($M = 4.54$) about exactly in the middle of the '0' to '9' point scale.

According to aversive racism theory (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Bachman, 2001) it is when social norms are most ambiguous that aversive racists will be free to express their subtle form of racism. This may have been the case in the Moderate scenario condition. Despite the fact that Asian and Caucasian targets were engaging in the exact same behaviours, participants may have rationalized that the Asian target was guiltier of academic dishonesty than the Caucasian target. Recall that aversive racists experience ambivalence because

(explicit) socially learned norms encouraging equality and fairness are in conflict with implicitly learned, affectively negative feelings toward non-Caucasian outgroup members. One could argue that the nonconscious nature of this ambivalence protects the aversive racist's self image as non-racist. The aversive racist is thus able to discriminate against an outgroup member, proffering a seemingly rational argument for the discriminatory decision.

The significant difference in rated guilt (although borderline at $p = .05$) between the Asian and Caucasian target was not expected in the High strength scenario condition. Considering that the Tukey test results indicate that participants rated the target in High strength scenario at the high end of the '0' to '9' rating scale ($M = 7.19$) it would appear that there was little disagreement as to the certainty of the target's academic dishonesty. Norms against copying others' work without their permission are obviously very strong. When normative behaviour is clearly defined, however, the aversive racist should not discriminate against the outgroup member.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1981) have observed, in a laboratory setting, that status was a primary factor influencing Caucasian's helping behaviour toward Blacks. Dovidio and Gaertner (1998) have also proposed that more bias will be expressed toward higher-status than lower-status minorities. Given the 'model minority' characterization (Ho & Jackson, 2001; Kawai, 2005) and the positive stereotypes (e.g., "extremely intelligent, studious, very hardworking") of Asians noted by Jackson et al. (1997), it is not surprising that Asian students would have a high social status on Memorial University's campus. Highly successful Asian students would be in a position to compete against domestic Caucasian students for the rewards netted out

for academic excellence in the university setting. Direct competition for rewards hitherto considered 'ours' by Caucasian students may foster nonconscious feelings of "threat, resentment, envy, and hostility" against the Asian outgroup (Ho and Jackson, 2001, p. 1555). Normative social prescriptions against the derogation of minority ethnic outgroup members would, fortunately, play a strong role in curtailing the overt expression of negative attitudes against Asian students. When the sample of students used here were allowed to make anonymous judgments without repercussion, however, nonconscious (negative) feelings may have been given an outlet for expression.

That an Asian target was judged guiltier of academic misconduct than a Caucasian counterpart in the High strength scenario condition is perhaps a testament to the strength of the nonconscious negative feelings. Considering variance as an indicator of certainty of guilt, we might infer that participants were far more certain of the guilt of the Asian target than the Caucasian target in the High strength scenario condition. The standard deviation for the Chang mean guilt rating ($SD = 1.32$) was half that of the Chalk mean guilt rating ($SD = 2.61$). The greater variance for the Chalk target suggests that some participants were more willing to give the Caucasian target the benefit of the doubt when it comes to a possible breach of academic integrity. McPhail (2002) found a similar pattern of pro-Caucasian favouritism in her study of Black and Caucasian job applicants seeking either entry-level or managerial positions with a fictitious company. Black applicants were favoured in the low-paying, low-status entry-level position, but Caucasian applicants were favoured for

the higher-paying, higher-status managerial position regardless of the reason (justified or unjustified) for having left a previous job.

Finally, in the Low-strength scenario no significant differences were observed between the Chalk and Chang targets. This was an expected outcome. In the Low scenario condition it should have been blatantly obvious to participants that the target was not at all guilty of committing an academic offence. When presented with a situation wherein the social norms clearly dictate a non-racist response, the aversive racist should make a non-racist judgment so as not to be accused of discrimination. The non-significant difference between the Chalk and Chang guilt ratings in the Low scenario condition supports aversive racism theory.

Problematic, however, are Tukey test mean results indicating that the Low ($M = 4.22$) and Moderate ($M = 4.54$) scenario strength conditions were judged to be equivalent in level of guilt. The standard deviation results from the Tukey test also indicate that participants were equally uncertain about how to interpret the Low strength scenario ($SD = 2.69$) as the Moderate strength scenario ($SD = 2.60$). This may have been a product of the scenarios themselves. The final version of the Low strength scenario presented to participants may have been less clear-cut than the original neutral version. Recall that the non-ethnically-specific 'student' target in the original Low strength scenario had been rated as clearly not guilty ($M = 1.24$, $SD = 1.44$) of committing an academic offence. It appears that the Low strength scenario was not as unambiguous as presupposed. It would have been prudent to pre-test a version of the final scenarios before presentation to the participants in Study 2.

Surprisingly, there were no significant differences in guilt ratings between the International student target and the Chalk student target. Across all three scenario strength conditions the International and Chalk targets were rated as equally guilty of having committed an academically dishonest act. According to aversive racism theory, the International student group should have been designated an outgroup by participants from the Caucasian ethnic ingroup. Following from the separation of the Chalk and International targets into in- and outgroups, the Caucasian participants should have showed favour toward their own Caucasian ingroup by rating the Chalk target as less guilty of academic misconduct than the International student target.

Perhaps the nonconsciously activated affective attitude toward the International student target may have been too weak (or nonexistent) to influence the judgment process. According to Bargh, Chaiken, Raymond, and Hymes (1996), Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell and Kardes (1986), Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, and Williams (1995), and Bargh, Chaiken, Gvender, and Pratto (1992) nonconscious attitudes (a.k.a., affective evaluations) to both social and non-social objects are stored in memory and activated automatically upon the mere presentation of the object. Furthermore, it appears that the strength of the object-evaluation association determines whether an affective evaluation is activated (Fazio et al., 1986). It is possible that nonconscious attitudes toward international students are insufficiently developed or accessible due to the diverse nature of the group's membership. In contrast, the Asian prototype, with its accompanying implicit attitudes and stereotypes, would have been well-learned by the average Caucasian student. Any

negative, nonconscious attitudes held toward Asians could thus be automatically and effortlessly activated with the presentation of the Asian target.

Finally, there were no significant differences in ratings of guilt found between the International student and Asian student targets at any of the scenario strengths. Theoretically, both International and Asian targets should have been perceived as outgroup members and judged guiltier of academic misconduct than the Caucasian target. Interestingly, the mean guilt ratings for the International target were always higher than the Chalk, but lower than the Chang mean guilt ratings. As noted above, participants may have perceived the International target as part of the outgroup but, lacking a (nonconscious) negative affective evaluation of the group, were not impelled to discriminate against the target.

Strengths and Limitations of This Research

The scenarios employed in this research are newly constructed, and although imperfect, may have been instrumental in possibly eliciting subtle anti-Asian attitudes which, until now, have not been researched on this university campus. The great strength of these scenarios lies in their appropriateness for the participant pool. Students know that academic dishonesty is prohibited, and are well aware of any personal indiscretions committed in the past. The participants may have more easily identified with the student targets and become more engaged when responding to the situations presented in the scenarios.

It is possible that the designation International student was much too nebulous to elicit a nonconscious affective reaction from participants. International students come from an array of Caucasian and non-Caucasian countries alike. It would most

likely be difficult, therefore, to construct a schematic prototype suitably representing all members of the category International student. Consequently, the commonalities uniting the members of the category might focus more on the 'student' facet of the category rather than the amorphous *International* facet. If the student facet is highlighted, implicit attitudes about ethnicity might possibly have played only a minor role in the interpretation of the target's behaviour.

Another limitation of this research is that participants were not queried about the rationale behind their judgments of target guilt. It would have been most enlightening to have access to the explicit cognitions of those who assigned greater guilt to the Chang target. Aversive racism theory postulates that nonconscious negative affective reactions are manifested in the form of conscious rationalizations that shield the racist from self-blame for racist behaviour. An analysis of these responses would certainly have enriched the quality of this research. Future research would be more complete with such a question(s) included as part of the study design.

Not including an explicit measure of racism gives rise to doubt about whether aversive racism is the unique explanation for the discriminatory responses toward the Asian targets in the moderate and high guilt scenarios. Participants may have been expressing pre-existing racial biases in response to the scenarios. A measure of prejudice administered before or after the experimental booklet might have detected overtly prejudiced attitudes that correlated well with the judgments of guilt made by participants. Such a measure was not administered, however, because alerting participants to prejudice (via the measure) may have resulted in biased responses to

the scenarios. Unfortunately, the data collection procedure precluded administering such a measure at a later time.

There were too few male participants to perform a reliable statistical analysis of gender differences in attitude toward the Asian target group. Gender-equal groups would have enabled the comparison of differences in the strength of aversive racist attitudes between male and female students.

The convenience sample used in this research (first-year social science students) does place definite limits on the generalizability of the findings. Discovering that a majority Caucasian ingroup sample might have aversive racist tendencies toward a minority Asian outgroup target may, however, be incentive enough to initiate further research.

Finally, aversive racism research should be expanded to include other ethnic groups as viable targets. Asians were chosen as the target group for this research because they are the largest non-Caucasian group on this campus, but other non-Caucasian ethnic groups may also be worthy of scholarly investigation.

Conclusion

Due to the limitations of this research, the conclusion that aversive racism exists in the sample of students surveyed here cannot be fully supported. The absence of explicitly expressed negative attitudes and behaviours toward Asian students does not, however, preclude the possibility that nonconscious negative attitudes do exist on this university campus. Nonconscious negative attitudes and affect may presage subtle discrimination against minority group members in ways that are not yet palpable to those who study aversive racism. The results of this research may remain

inconclusive, but further investigation into the possible existence of aversive racism on Memorial University campus is warranted.

This research might provide an impetus for the further study of aversive racism on a university campus where the number of non-Caucasian ethnic students is steadily increasing in number. A longitudinal survey of attitude change toward non-Caucasian ethnic groups would definitely enrich the literature on racism and perhaps provide new directions for research.

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Appendix A:
Ethics Approval Letter



Memorial

University of Newfoundland

Office of Research

February 26, 2007

ICEHR No. 2006/07-036-SC

Mr Greg Bolger
Department of Psychology
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Mr Bolger

Thank you for your correspondence of February 7, 2007 addressing the issues raised by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) concerning your research project *"Aversive racism: are Asian students judged guiltier of committing academic fraud"*.

ICEHR has examined the revised proposal and is satisfied that concerns raised by the Committee have been adequately addressed. In accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS), the project has been granted full approval for one year from the date of this letter.

If you intend to make changes during the course of the project which may give rise to ethical concerns, please forward a description of these changes to ICEHR for consideration.

If you have any questions concerning this review you may contact the Co-ordinator for ICEHR, Ms Eleanor Butler, at ebutler@mun.ca. We wish you success with your research.

The TCPS requires that you submit an annual status report to ICEHR on your project, should the research carry on beyond February 2008. Also, to comply with the TCPS, please notify ICEHR upon completion of your project.

Yours sincerely,

T. Seifert, Ph.D.
Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on
Ethics in Human Research

TS emb

cc Supervisor - Dr Ken Fowler, Department of Psychology

Appendix B:
Examples of Scenarios

THE ORIGINAL 8 SCENARIOS

3/8

Many Canadian Universities have begun to reassess their official policies related to academic integrity (i.e., dishonesty) and the penalties meted out for such offences. The Board of Governors at Memorial University has also been asked to revamp MUN's Academic Integrity Code so that it reflects prevailing concerns within the academic community. How guilty of academic dishonesty do you think that a member of MUN's Board of Governors would find each of the students depicted in the scenarios presented below? Please place a numerical value in the space provided.

Please use the following scale as a guide when making your ratings:

'0' = Not at all Guilty.

'9' = Totally Guilty.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

During an exam, a student is permitted to go to the washroom. While there, the student's cell phone rings. The student has been told that all cell phones should be turned off during the exam, but answers it anyway. It's just a friend asking what the student is doing later that evening. While sitting in the bathroom stall, the student is overheard whispering by one of the exam invigilators, who accuses the student of cheating. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A student is assigned to work on a presentation with three other group members. The student takes great care to make sure everything in her part of the assignment is properly referenced. The four students meet several times during a two-week period to put the presentation together. To the student's surprise, after the group presentation, the instructor asks the group to stay behind after class to discuss possible plagiarism. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A student is assigned to write a paper on a topic covered in a course he did last year. He changes a few lines in the paper, adds a couple of new references to meet the instructor's requirements for 15 sources, and resubmits the paper as a new assignment. He finds nothing wrong with this, the work is his own and it frees up his time to work on two other assignments due at the end of the same week. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A student is frustrated by her inability to come up with the right equation for the chemical reaction being studied in her first year chemistry lab. Her friend at the next bench allows her to look over her lab report while she uses the washroom. Without her friend's permission, the student copies her friend's equation exactly as it is written. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A student's roommate asks to have a look at a paper he did last term for the same course he is doing this term. The roommate says that he just wants to get some guidelines to make starting the paper a little easier. The student notices the roommate's finished paper on the coffee table and decides to have a look. To his surprise, the roommate's paper contains large sections of text copied directly from his original. He decides that there's nothing to worry about because he didn't give his roommate permission to do this. How guilty of academic dishonesty is this student?

Rating _____

A student has a friend look over a term paper before handing it in to the instructor. The friend makes several changes to the paper – the student agrees that these changes might just make this an 'A' paper instead of a 'B' paper. The student expresses her gratitude to her friend, saying that she was able to clearly express some of the concepts that she didn't quite know how to explain. The student hands in this paper as her own work. How guilty of academic dishonesty is this student?

Rating _____

A student is writing a mid-term exam when the instructor steps out of the classroom to get something from her office. He notices that a student sitting in front of him is looking at another student's answer sheet. He ignores the cheating student and returns to his own exam. He does not tell the instructor about what he saw, figuring that it was none of his business. Besides, he thinks, I did nothing wrong myself. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A student has a take-home exam for her third year psychology course. The instructor tells the class that only the following sources may be consulted: the class text and notes, the on-line course notes, and the instructor or the course T.A. While having coffee with a couple of friends from class later that afternoon, the student discusses several of the questions from the take-home exam, but nothing is written down on paper. The student assumes that discussion is a valuable part of the academic learning process. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

CAUCASIAN VS CHINESE TARGETS

Many Canadian Universities have begun to reassess their official policies related to academic integrity (i.e., dishonesty) and the penalties meted out for such offences. The Board of Regents at Memorial University has also been asked to revamp MUN's Academic Integrity Code so that it reflects prevailing concerns within the academic community. How guilty of academic dishonesty do you think that a member of MUN's Board of Regents would find each of the students depicted in the scenarios presented below? Please place a numerical value in the blank space provided.

Please use the following scale as a guide when making your ratings:

'0' = Not at all Guilty.

'9' = Totally Guilty.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

A student is assigned to work on a presentation with three other group members. The student takes great care to make sure that everything in his part of the assignment is properly referenced. The four students meet several times during a two-week period to put the presentation together. To the student's surprise, after the group presentation, the instructor asks the group to stay behind after class to discuss possible plagiarism. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A student's roommate asks to have a look at a paper he did last term for the same course he is doing this term. The roommate says that he just wants to get some guidelines to make starting the paper a little easier. The student notices the roommate's finished paper on the coffee table and decides to have a look. To his surprise, the roommate's paper contains large sections of text copied directly from his original. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the roommate?

Rating _____

During an exam, an international student from China is permitted to go to the washroom. While there, the student's cell phone rings. The student has been told that all cell phones should be turned off during the exam, but answers it anyway. It's just a friend asking what the student is doing later that evening. While sitting in the bathroom stall, the student is overheard whispering by one of the exam invigilators, who accuses the student of cheating. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

CAUCASIAN VS ASIAN TARGETS

Many Canadian Universities have begun to reassess their official policies related to academic integrity (i.e., dishonesty) and the penalties meted out for such offences. The Board of Regents at Memorial University has also been asked to revamp MUN's Academic Integrity Code so that it reflects prevailing concerns within the academic community. How guilty of academic dishonesty do you think that a member of MUN's Board of Regents would find each of the students depicted in the scenarios presented below? Place a numerical value in the blank space below each scenario.

Please use the following scale as a guide when making your ratings:

'0' = Not at all Guilty.

'9' = Totally Guilty.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
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During a physics exam, an Asian MUN student is permitted to go to the washroom. While there, the student's cell phone rings. The student has been told that all cell phones should be turned off during the exam, but answers it anyway. While sitting in the bathroom stall, the student is overheard whispering by one of the exam invigilators. The student is accused of cheating. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

A MUN student's Asian roommate asks to have a look at a computer science assignment the student did last term. The roommate says that he just wants to get some guidelines to make starting his assignment a little easier. The student notices the roommate's finished assignment on the coffee table and decides to have a look. To his surprise, the roommate's assignment contains large sections copied directly from his original. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the roommate?

Rating _____

An Asian MUN student is assigned to work on a business assignment with three other group members. The four students meet several times during a two-week period to put a presentation together. To the student's surprise, after the group presentation, the instructor asks the group to stay behind after class to discuss possible plagiarism. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

An Asian MUN student is assigned to write a sociology paper on a topic covered in a course he did in a previous term. He changes a few lines, adds a couple of new references to meet the instructor's requirements for 12 sources, and resubmits the previous term's paper as a new assignment. How guilty of academic dishonesty is the student?

Rating _____

Appendix C:
Two-page Experimental Booklet

COVER PAGE

On the next page you will find a passage depicting an incident involving a university student who may or may not be committing an act of academic dishonesty. You are being asked to carefully read the introductory paragraph at the top of the page and then make a judgment as to the guilt of the individual depicted in the passage that follows. Your response to the judgement task will remain completely anonymous.

Please note that participation in this research is completely voluntary. Even if you should choose not to participate, please return this questionnaire to the collection box placed on your instructor's desk. Returning the completed questionnaire will indicate that you have given full personal consent to participate in this research.

Thank-You for participating.

The proposal for this research has been approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research at Memorial University. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 737-8368

Universities across Canada have begun to reassess their official policies related to academic integrity (i.e., dishonesty) and the penalties meted out for such offenses. Memorial University is also concerned about academic integrity, especially as it pertains to students' understanding of the issue. Below you will find a passage depicting an incident similar to other incidents that have occurred at universities across the country. How guilty of academic dishonesty would you rate the student depicted in the passage below? Please place a numerical value in the space provided.

Please use the following scale as a guide when making your ratings:

'0' = Not at all Guilty

'9' = Totally Guilty

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

A MUN student, P. Chalk, is assigned to work on a computer science assignment with three other students. The four group members each take a portion of the assignment and meet the week before the assignment is due to put their individual results together. The student is very meticulous with his part of the assignment. A few days after they submit the completed assignment, the instructor asks the group to stay behind after class to discuss possible plagiarism. How guilty of academic dishonesty is this student?

Rating _____

What is your gender?

MALE

FEMALE



